VOL. V. NO. 97
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1917

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

THE COURT OF LAST RESORT

Public Opinion Forces the Administration

National Woman's Party

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, LAFAYETTE SQUARE, WASHINGTON, D. C., *Tel. Main 5437*

BRANCH HEADQUARTERS

Connecticut, 456 Washington Street, Hartford

Delaware, 17 East 7th Street, Wilmington, *Tel. Wilmington* 5580

District of Columbia, Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C., *Tel. Main* 5437

Indiana, 611 Fletcher Savings and Trust Co., Indianapolis

Maryland, 817 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, *Tel. Mt. Vernon* 3279

Massachusetts, 401 Phillips Building, 120 Tremont Street, Boston, *Tel. Fort Hill* 2825

Minnesota, 206 Studio Building, corner Market and Fourth Streets, St. Paul

New Jersey, 709 Union Building, Clinton Street, Newark

New York, 13 East 41st Street, New York, *Tel. Murray Hill* 5444
381 Main Street East, Rochester

Pennsylvania, 213 Hale Building, Philadelphia, *Tel. Filbert* 5652

Rhode Island, 557 Westminster Street, Providence

OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP. Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five cents. There are no dues.

Executive Committee

Miss Alice Paul, N. J., *Chairman*
Miss Anne Martin, Nev., *Vice-Chairman*
Miss Mabel Vernon, Nev., *Secretary*
Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, Md., *Treasurer*

Mrs. Robert Baker, D. C.
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, N. Y.
Mrs. John W. Brannan, N. Y.
Miss Lucy Burns, N. Y.

Mrs. Gilson Gardner, D. C.
Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, Conn.
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Del.
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Md.

Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Pa.
Miss Doris Stevens, Neb.
Miss Maud Younger, Cal.

National Departments

Legislative
Chairman, Miss Anne Martin

Lobby Committee

Mrs. Robert Baker
Mrs. Alvin Barber
Mrs. Gilson Gardner
Mrs. William Kent
Mrs. George Odell
Miss Maud Younger

National Headquarters Maintenance Committee
Mrs. William Kent

National Headquarters Manager
Mrs. Ella Morton Dean

Organization
Miss Catherine Flanagan

Pageant
Miss Hazel MacKaye

Political
Miss Katherine Morey

Press
Chairman, Mrs. Robert Baker
Secretary, Miss Beulah Amidon

Supplies
Mrs. Bessie Papandre

Executive Secretaries

National Headquarters, Miss Virginia Arnold

Pennsylvania Headquarters, Miss Caroline Katzenstein

National Organizers

Miss Lucy Branham
Miss Iris Calderhead
Miss Berta Crone
Miss Sarah Grant
Miss Natalie Grey
Miss Alice Henkle
Miss Elsie Hill
Miss Rebecca Hourwich
Miss Katharine Mullen
Miss Jane Pincus
Miss Margery Ross
Miss Clara Louise Rowe
Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant
Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson
Miss Margaret Whittemore
Miss Joy Young

National Committee of State Chairmen

Alabama
Mrs. H. L. White
1026 South 32 St., Birmingham

Arizona
Mrs. H. L. Corl, Nogales (acting)

Arkansas
Mrs. Edward M. Jarrett
Little Rock

California
Mrs. Elinor Carlisle
Vine St., Berkeley

Colorado
Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler
1225 Wood Ave., Colorado Springs

Connecticut
Mrs. W. D. Ascough
456 Washington Street, Hartford

Delaware
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles
17 East 7th Street, Wilmington

District of Columbia
Mrs. W. Thompson Burch
21 Madison Place, Lafayette Square
Washington, D. C.

Florida
Mrs. A. Leight Monroe
215 11th Street, Miami

Georgia
Mrs. Beatrice Castleton
312 Healy Building, Atlanta

Idaho
Mrs. S. E. Beggs
Rathdum

Illinois
Miss Ella Abeel
4907 Vincennes Ave., Chicago

Indiana
Mrs. M. J. Anderson
932 N. Rural St.
Indianapolis

Iowa
Mrs. A. N. Beim
979 26th St., Des Moines

Kansas
Miss Nell Ainslie Anthony
1227 Polk Street, Topeka

Kentucky
Miss Edith Callahan
2016 3d Ave., Louisville

Louisiana
Mrs. M. L. Graham-Bankston
5321 Freret St., New Orleans

Maine
Mrs. Robert Treat Whitehouse
108 Vaughan Street, Portland

Maryland
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker
817 North Charles St., Baltimore

Massachusetts
Miss Olive M. Belches
Framingham

Michigan
Mrs. Nelson Whittemore
2967 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit

Minnesota
Mrs. A. R. Colvin
Davern Avenue, St. Paul

Mississippi
Mrs. A. C. R. Richardson
313 N. State Street
Jackson

Missouri
Mrs. Edith Barriger
5430 Cabanne Avenue, St. Louis

Montana
Miss Mary O'Neil (acting)
Montana Hotel, Butte

Nevada
Mrs. M. S. Bonnifield
Winnemucca

New Hampshire
Miss Sallie W. Hovey
214 State Street, Portsmouth

New Jersey
Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins
709 Union Building, Clinton St.
Newark

New York
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont
13 East 41st Street, New York City
Mrs. John Winters Brannan (acting)
125 East 57th Street, New York City

North Carolina
Mrs. Arthur Taylor
805 Worthington Ave., Charlotte

North Dakota
Mrs. Elizabeth Darrow O'Neil
714 Eighth Street, Fargo

Ohio
Mrs. Valentine Winters
319 West 1st St., Dayton

Oregon
Dr. Florence Manion
1010 Selling Building, Portland

Pennsylvania
Miss Mary Ingham
213 Hale Bldg., Philadelphia

Rhode Island
Miss Mildred Glines
113 Comstock Ave.
Providence

South Carolina
Mrs. W. P. Vaughan
R. F. D. Route 8
Greenville

South Dakota
Mrs. A. R. Fellows
Sioux Falls

Tennessee
Mrs. L. Crozier French
620 West Cumberland Ave., Knoxville

Texas
Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe
909 West 18th Street, Austin

Utah
Mrs. Elizabeth Jenkins
37 South 6th St. East, Salt Lake City

Vermont
Mrs. J. Borden Estee
Montpelier

Virginia
Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith
204 East Grace Street, Richmond

Washington
Mrs. Frederick Forrest
2417 Pacific Ave., Spokane

West Virginia
Miss Florence Hoge
Edgewood, Wheeling

Wisconsin
Miss Ada James
Richland Center

Wyoming
Dr. Frances M. Lane, Cody

National Advisory Council

Chairman, Mrs. John Rogers, N. Y.

Secretary Miss Maud Younger, Cal.

Mrs. Frederick T. Ackermann, N. Y.
Mrs. Robert Adamson, N. Y.
Mrs. Charles E. Amidon, N. Dak.
Miss Jessie Ashley, N. Y.
Miss Mary E. Bakewell, Pa.
Mrs. Bion H. Barnett, Fla.
Mrs. Cyrus Beard, Wyo.
Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, Conn.
Mrs. William B. Boulton, N. J.
Mrs. Howard P. Boyle, N. J.
Mrs. Virginia M. Branner, Iowa
Mrs. Alfred H. Bright, Minn.
Reverend Olympia Brown, Wis.
Mrs. William G. Brown, W. Va.
Mrs. Robert Bruere, N. Y.
Miss Mary A. Burnham, Pa.
Mrs. Dora Phelps Buell, Col.
Mrs. Anne Wells Cannon, Utah
Mrs. John Carey, Ind.
Mrs. Joseph Carey, Wyo.
Mrs. Thomas L. Chadbourne, N. Y.
Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdron, Utah
Mrs. Rose Collins, Miss.
Mrs. William L. Colt, N. Y.
Miss Anna Constable, N. Y.
Mrs. Vincent Cook, Ore.
Mrs. Avery Coonley, Ill.
Mrs. Frank Cothren, N. Y.
Mrs. Julius Crisler, Miss.
Mrs. R. P. Crump, Miss.
Mrs. Lucius M. Cuthbert, Col.
Mrs. George H. Day, Conn.
Dr. Maria M. Dean, Mont.
Miss Lavinia Dock, Pa.
Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, N. Y.
Miss Crystal Eastman, N. Y.
Mrs. Henry Ess, Mo.
Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Cal.
Mrs. Robert Patterson Finley, N. J.
Mrs. William Floyd, N. Y.
Mrs. Marie Moore Forrest, D. C.
Mrs. J. Andre Fouilhoux, Ore.
Miss Susan P. Frost, S. C.
Mrs. Emma Maddox Funck, Md.
Mrs. Elizabeth Gerberding, Cal.
Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, N. Y.
Mrs. Adolphus E. Graupner, Cal.
Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, Pa.
Mrs. Jennie Law Hardy, Mich.
Mrs. W. E. Hardy, Neb.
Mrs. F. R. Hazard, N. Y.
Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, Cal.
Mrs. William Randolph Hearst, N. Y.
Mrs. George Hendrie, Mich.
Mrs. Elon Hooker, N. Y.
Mrs. Henry E. Hovey, N. H.
Mrs. Frederick C. Howe, N. Y.
Miss Mary Ingham, Pa.
Mrs. Inez Haynes Irwin, N. Y.
Miss Marie Ernst Kennedy, Pa.
Mrs. Charles Gilmore Kerley, N. Y.
Dr. Cora Smith King, Wash.
Mrs. Otto Kirchner, Mich.
Mrs. Alexander Kohut, N. Y.
Miss Fola La Follette, N. Y.
Miss Gail Laughlin, Cal.
Mrs. Henry G. Leach, N. Y.
Miss Stephanie Levert, La.
Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd, Ill.
Dr. Sarah H. Lockrey, Pa.
Mrs. Harry Lowenburg, Pa.
Miss Belle McGibeny, N. J.
Miss Bernice McCoy, Idaho
Mrs. Benton MacKaye, D. C.
Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, Cal.
Mrs. Lionel S. Marks, Mass.
Mrs. Marcus M. Marks, N. Y.
Miss Julia Marlowe, N. Y.
Miss Helen Marot, N. Y.
Mrs. Harris Masterson, Texas
Miss Edythe Wynne Matthison, Conn.
Miss Marion May, N. Y.
Mrs. Cyrus Mead, Ohio
Miss Vida Milholland, N. Y.
Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe, Kans.
Mrs. Agnes H. Morey, Mass.
Mrs. John T. Morrison, Idaho
Mrs. Henry Moskowitz, N. Y.
Mrs. William Spencer Murray, Md.
Mrs. Adelina Otero-Warren, N. M.
Mrs. Marsden Perry, R. I.
Mrs. Amos Pinchot, N. Y.
Mrs. Annie Porritt, Conn.
Mrs. Alden Potter, Minn.
Mrs. James M. Rector, Ohio
Mrs. Henry Ridgly, Del.
Miss Ella Riegel, Pa.
Mrs. Julius Rosenwald, Ill.
Mrs. A. S. Rossin, N. Y.
Mrs. Charles Edward Russell, D. C.
Mrs. Frederick Sanborn, Cal.
Mrs. Townsend Scott, Md.
Mrs. Eugene Shippen, Mich.
Mrs. Frances Thurber Seal, N. Y.
Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Ind.
Mrs. Austin Sperry, Cal.
Mrs. Albert Steinfeld, Ariz.
Mrs. Julius Stone, Ohio
Miss Grace Strachan, N. Y.
Dr. Elizabeth Thelberg, N. Y.
Mrs. David D. Terry, Ark.
Mrs. Mary C. Therkelsen, Ore.
Mrs. Robert Gibbes Thomas, S. C.
Miss Clara L. Thompson, Mo.
Mrs. Shelley Tollhurst, Cal.
Mrs. Samuel Untermeyer, N. Y.
Mrs. Richard Wainwright, D. C.
Mrs. Hattie D. M. Wallis, Texas
Mrs. Thomas F. Walsh, D. C.
Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, D. C.
Dr. Marion Walker Williams, Ariz.
Mrs. S. B. M. Young, Mont.
Mrs. Fanny Bloomfield Zeisler, Ill.

Notes of the Week

Administration "Loyalty"

FOOD Administrator Hoover has discovered that interned Germans, prisoners of war, are enjoying "full army rations and other luxuries" in the internment camps. In fact, the German prisoners at the Hot Springs camp "indulge in five or six meals a day." This situation in a nation that is patriotically observing "meatless days" and "wheatless days" has been made the subject of an official investigation and severe criticism by Administration authorities.

At the same time, American political prisoners, in the nation's capital, whose offense is that they have asked for that democracy at home which we fight to establish abroad, are offered salt pork and cabbage, wormy bread and sour hominy, until their health is seriously endangered. Then, rather than grant them the rights of political prisoners, including the privilege of buying nourishing food, the Administration tools force them to suffer a week of hunger striking, and then endure the torture of forcible feeding. The Administration officials who will undernourish, starve and mistreat American patriots while alien enemies, held as prisoners of war, are fed on the fat of the land, might almost seem to cast suspicion upon their own loyalty.

The President's "Right to Rejoice"

PRESIDENT WILSON has replied to the telegram sent him by Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman of the New York City Woman Suffrage party, thanking him for his attitude toward the suffrage question during the New York State campaign, saying:

"I am indeed gratified that you think that my championing of the cause of suffrage had great weight with the voters of New York. It gives me the right to rejoice with you in the victory."

At any time during his first term, the President could have secured the passage of the Federal Amendment, making unnecessary the toil and sacrifice which the state campaign caused to the New York suffragists. Instead of "urging" voters to vote for suffrage, the President can direct Congressmen to vote for suffrage. When he does that, he will indeed have the "right to rejoice in the victory."

Canny Politicians

"MEN politicians of all parties are out to win the women's votes," says the New York *Times*.

New York women voters are to be represented on the Republican County Committee henceforth.

Assemblyman Schuyler Meyer, of the Fifteenth New York District, announces a bid for favor through a bill in the next session of the Legislature to permit the women to participate in the next primaries.

Two vacancies in the New York delegation in Congress will occur this winter through the resignation of Daniel J. Griffin and Henry Bruckner. The *Times* admits that the candidate who pledges support to the "so-called Susan B. Anthony amendment" will have the best chance of success in the special elections.

The Young Man's Democratic League is already forming a woman's auxiliary.

Will the Administration leaders be less foresighted than the New York City, County and State politicians? If supporting the Susan B. Anthony amendment will secure the election of State legislators, might it not help a national party?

And contrawise, the 700,000 at the first national election in which they take part, may have definite and unpleasant methods of dealing with any party which, having had opportunity to pass the Federal Amendment enfranchising women, fails to do so.

On "Communicating" with the President

"MOREOVER a statement is always hard to avoid when the parties can be brought face to face. I can differ with a man much more radically when he isn't in the room than I can when he is in the room, because then the awkward thing is that he can come back at me and answer what I say. It is always dangerous for a man to have the floor entirely to himself. And therefore, we must insist in every instance that the parties come into each other's presence and there discuss between them, and not separately in places which have no communication with each other."

This is the latest utterance of President Wilson on the healthful effects of "answering back" and "talking it out." Since the President advocated the benefits of free discussion at the American Federation of Labor Convention of a few weeks ago in Buffalo, suffragists feel that he will not again be likely to retire petitoners for freedom to a spot where they "can have no communication with each other."

Suffrage in Hungary

RAPID progress toward the enfranchisement of women has been made in Hungary during the past summer.

The accession of King Karl and the fall of Premier Tisza gave new hope to suffragists. The new king promised suffrage to all the workers of the nations in his first manifesto. Count Karolyi, leader of the independent party in Parliament, formed a bloc with the Socialists against Tisza who opposed any extension of the franchise. In June a citizen's and workmen's suffrage committee was formed in Budapest, which was joined by all the women's organizations, to demand universal and equal suffrage The greatest demonstration ever seen in the Hungarian capital marched to the town hall and sent a message to the King that the support of the citizens would only be given to a government which put at the front of its platform universal, equal and secret suffrage.

Two cabinet members were appointed members of the suffrage committee, and suffragists learned that four other ministers supported equal suffrage. Great public meetings were then organized, at one of which the Margave Pallavicini, speaking for the Prime Minister, said that the cabinet valued the services of women and was ready to give women the franchise, and M. Ugron, minister of home affairs, said that woman suffrage was included in the extension of the franchise planned in the government program. Hungarian women are now strongly organized to hold the government to its promise.

Government Waste of Women

AN example of the waste of women in useless war work, and the eagerness of unthinking women, forgetful of their own fight, to be so exploited, is nowhere better illustrated than in the group of women artists who are being urged to enroll in a government camp at Marshfield Hills, Massachusetts, as camouflage workers, for use in a problematical descent of an alien enemy in this country. Women are asked to give up their art to practice "applying house paint in landscape colors to big peices of sailcloth or canvas in order that they may take the canvas some distance away, against trees, bushes, or some natural background to see how nearly they can be made to disappear. * * * The individual expenses while in camp will be approximately fifty dollars."

While these propositions are made to professional women to pay their own expenses to work for the government, a growing group in this country are beginning to recognize the government as the supreme camouflage artist, disguising from women their own dues, their own power, and luring them on to more and more wasteful work.

A Wiser Government

"THE granting of a fuller share in the national life of India" is the new demand Great Britain itself is making through Lord Sydenham, who lately expanded on the necessity for activity in educating Indian women, as well as Indian men. The growing unrest in India now looming on the horizon as the problem which will be precipitated following the war if not before, is forcing the most conservative sections of English opinion to earnest consideration concerning the demands which have been made in India for years for approximate representation in their own government. The brilliant campaign for humble women which has steadily gone on in India itself, animated by a small educated native group, is a splendid example of what small groups can accomplish in dealing even with a powerful opposing government; and recalls the accomplishment of the Woman's Party in forcing concession after concession, to the edge of victory, from an opposition government.

Government Forced to Release

THE National Woman's party this week won two great victories over the government which has for months tried to suppress suffrage propaganda by attempting to crush the right of peaceful petition. They established the fact, through a legal proceeding in the Northern District of the Federal Court of Virginia, that the thirty-one suffrage prisoners illegally remanded to Occoquan after being sentenced to serve varying terms in the District jail, had been illegally committed and brutally treated, and obtained their recommitment. The government, forced through this proceeding to resort to forcibly feed nearly the whole group of hunger-striking women, protesting for the right of treatment as political prisoners, speedily released all suffrage prisoners.

The beginning of the great victory of the National Woman's party, pitted against unscrupulous Administration servants, was staged in the United States District Court at Alexandria, Va., with Judge Edmund Waddill sitting.

The thirty-one suffragists, coming from remote States, were recommitted through a blanket habeas corpus petition preferred by Attorneys Matthew O'Brien and Dudley Field Malone, for the National Woman's Party. Following the inhuman treatment of the large group of suffragists at Occoquan an attempt to serve a writ on Superintendent Whittaker to secure their release was immediately made.

The story of the pursuits and evasions, the interference of government officials, the sleuthing of secret service men using the paraphernalia of fake messages, tapped wires and all the regulation machinery of a dime detective story, would scarcely be believed.

To escape the service of the writ the notorious superintendent of Occoquan was two days in hiding in Washington; a second general writ had to be obtained from the Virginia Federal Court that the service might be made indirectly. Whittaker was finally located twenty-four hours before the date of the trial, after attorneys and marshalls had abandoned the attempt. Two members of the National Woman's party, with a marshall and attorney, made a second trip to Occoquan workhouse at midnight after telephoning in advance that they would appear with the writ the next morning. Taken thus unawares, Whittaker was finally served.

THE contention of Mr. O'Brien in serving the writ of habeas corpus was that the removal of the thirty-one suffragists who had been committed from the District jail to a workhouse in Virginia, where they were forced to labor and to wear prison clothing, a treatment not contemplated by the sentencing judge, was illegal. He pointed out in addition that the majority of the suffrage prisoners had not been "removed" from the prison to the workhouse since they had not even gone through the formality of being taken to the prison, but with the exception of six women had been taken direct to Occoquan in violation of the court's order.

He recited that the suffrage prisoners had been submitted to cruel and unusual punishment. They were refused the right of consulting their attorney. One of the women was handcuffed to the bars of a cell and all were roughly handled.

Superintendent Whittaker appeared in the Virginia Federal Court November 23, the day set by Judge Waddill, with twenty-eight of the suffrage petitioners, and accompanied by Attorneys Frank H. Stephens, Assistant Corporation Counsel for the District of Columbia, and Richard H. Mann, United States District Attorney for Virginia.

The appearance of the women as they filed into the court was touching in the extreme. Some of them could hardly walk and were supported by the younger and stronger women. All were worn and pale, and it was some moments before they ceased to watch the Warden under whose care they had suffered such indignities and cruelties without apprehension. They seemed unable to realize that they were out of the jurisdiction of Occoquan workhouse and under the at least temporary protection of a United States Court. Mrs. John Winters Brannan, of New York, absolutely collapsed and had to be taken from the court room. Several lay back like ghosts in their chairs, hardly conscious of what the procedure that was to free them meant.

Attorney O'Brien immediately demanded that all of the petitioners named in the writ be produced. Whittaker contended that Mrs. Lawrence Lewis and Miss Lucy Burns, of New York, who had been returned to the District jail hospital, were too ill to appear in court.

"IF three days ago it was necessary to handcuff Miss Burns to the bars of a cell, we consider her well enough to appear," declared Attorney O'Brien. "We consider we ought to know what has happened to all of these petitioners since these events. While I was at Occoquan Sunday endeavoring to see my clients, the ladies whom he says are too sick to be brought here, he was trying to induce them to dismiss this proceeding. Failing in that, he refused to let me see them, and they were taken back to the District of Columbia though I had an order from Judge Mullowny to see them. From that time to this, though I had Your Honor's order which you signed in Norfolk, the superintendent of the Washington jail refused to allow me to see my clients, saying your order had no effect in the District of Columbia."

"If there are any petitioners that you claim have not been brought here because they have been carried beyond the jurisdiction of the courts, I think we should know it," ruled the court. Warden Zinkham was called to the stand.

The Warden was evidently uneasy. To every question he declared that the two suffrage leaders who had been forced to submit to the most shameful treatment at Occoquan, were "very sick women," although he had informed their relatives only the day before that their condition was "not serious." Asked as to how many men it took to hold Miss Burns while she was forcibly fed, the unhappy Warden was spared answering by the court, who said:

"Counsel for these ladies want them here; and they say that they ought to be here and are well enough to be here; that the respondent here has spirited them away and put them beyond the jurisdiction of the Court. On that showing, unless there is some reason why they ought not to come, they should be here." On this order Miss Burns and Mrs. Lewis were ordered to be brought to the Virginia Court on the second day of the hearing.

SUPERINTENDENT Whittaker through the government attorneys, admitted the most damning accusation against his institution when he admitted that Lucy Burns had been handcuffed to the bars of her cell on the night of November 14, and was forced to wear handcuffs all night. That prisoners were maltreated by guards, thrown into punishment cells, not given food for more than twenty-four hours and denied counsel, he denied; and early in the case it was evident that the government on behalf of Whittaker, their servant, would make every effort to keep from the records of the Federal Court the testimony of the thirty-one women as to the details of the brutal treatment they had received at the workhouse.

The question as to whether the Virginia District Court had authority to act in the case was first threshed out, Attorney O'Brien, citing a Georgia case which made it plain that a Federal Judge had a right to intervene when he heard of inhuman practices at institutions within his jurisdiction. The attorneys for the government held that relief for Whittaker's accusers lay in the jurisdiction of the District Commissioners who had appointed him.

The Judge, however, discussing whether the cruel and unusual punishment suffragists had received at Occoquan workhouse entitled them to an investigation through a habeas corpus proceeding, said: "These are not State prisoners. They are prisoners of the District of Columbia. They are held by an order of the court claiming to have jurisdiction in the District of Columbia. But they are imprisoned in the Eastern District of Virginia. Occoquan workhouse that, very much to our regret, is down here, is an institution that we alone have jurisdiction over. No court would fail to act when such a state of affairs as are set forth in this petition is brought to its attention. . . . *Here was a case concerning twenty-five or thirty ladies. The statement as to their treatment was blood-curdling; it was shocking to man's ideas of humanity if it is true. They are here in court, and yet your answer denies all these facts which they submit. It is a question whether you can*

Suffrage Prisoners from Occoquan

do that and yet deny these petitioners the right of testimony."

In arguing as to whether prisoners sentenced from the District of Columbia Court to jail sentence, in default of a fine, could be transferred from the jail to the workhouse and compelled to wear prison garb and work, Mr. O'Brien cited a parallel case which he himself had tried before the same Virginia court six years ago, contending that the act itself which gave the District Commissioners the power to send prisoners to Occoquan workhouse in Virginia was illegal. He held that no formal transfer of the suffrage prisoners from one institution to another had ever been made, the sentencing papers distinctly stating that all of the prisoners were committed to "the Washington Asylum and Jail."

MR. O'BRIEN also maintained that since, in addition to an illegal transfer the prisoners had been brutally treated, the Virginia District Court was the only court with the authority to go into that treatment and prevent a recurrence of such illegality and such cruelties.

"These women," said Mr. O'Brien, "were sentenced to pay a fine. The key to their place of imprisonment was in their own keeping, and at any moment they could pay their fine and come out. They were sentenced in default of that payment, not to serve a sentence in jail, but to commitment until the fine was paid. *We deny that any such order can be produced or any assent of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia or the Attorney General or the Warden of the District jail. We deny that the records of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia can show that there was any order made by the Board for the removal of these women.* 'The liberty of a citizen cannot be so far disregarded and trifled with that any police official or jailer may, at his own volition, commit and hold him in custody and compel him to work. The liberty of the people depends upon a broader foundation,' cited Mr. O'Brien from a similar Utah case. He claimed finally that the thirty-one women, sentenced to varying terms of from three days to seven months, "were railroaded to Occoquan, where unspeakable brutalities occurred, for the sole purpose of terrorizing these women and compelling them to desist from doing what they claim they have a legal right to do."

The attorneys for the government held that Whittaker's authority for transferring prisoners to Occoquan was a verbal order given by the Commissioners "five or six years ago."

"Do you really mean," interrupted the court, "that the only authority that you have on the part of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to transfer parties down to Occoquan, is a verbal order they made five or six years ago?"

THE curious fact was admitted finally. In protesting against the laxity of a law that could send people to a workhouse or a jail, carrying widely differing penalties and treatment, the Court declared it was a matter worthy the consideration of a special session of Congress, and declared in addition, "It is a very serious question. Here are twenty or thirty ladies whom we do not think ought to do down there. Thirty is a respectable number. Some action should be taken on this matter. A great many things happen once in a life time. All of us have to die and be buried, but we do not generally use coffins but once."

Warden Zinkham, of the District jail, was put on the stand to testify as to the committment papers he had received with his thirty prisoners. He testified that his orders concerning the suffrage prisoners were all "oral"; and though he could remember in detail the facts concerning the first oral directions dating back to 1911, he could remember no details as to how he had received the orders concerning the suffragists committed to the District jail, except that they were "oral and explicit," though no record was kept of such an order by either himself or the District Commissioners. Questioned as to whether only able-bodied prisoners were sent to the workhouse, the disturbed Warden admitted that such was not the invariable fact, but that "humanitarian motives" sometimes moved him.

"Did 'humanitarian motives' move you in sending Mrs. Mary Nolan, a woman of seventy-three years of age? Did you think she could perform some service at Occoquan that it was necessary to get her out of the District jail and down there?" asked the remorseless attorney.

When the uncomfortably red Warden insisted that "humanitarian motives" had moved him—"Mrs. Nolan, stand up!" said the attorney. From the front row in the crowded Court Mrs. Nolan slowly got to her feet. Her snowy hair showed under her little black bonent. Her lame foot dragged just a trifle as the brave little woman who represented Florida in the last picket line took a step forward, and a murmur ran through the court.

IN commenting on this testimony the Judge said: "The testimony has brought out the fact that two of these ladies were old ladies and one of them is a delicate lady. Her appearance would indicate that she is not strong. Under this rule if one of these ladies had been eighty years old and able to walk she would have gone along with the herd and nobody would have dared to say, 'Ought this to be done?' Would the Commissioners in a case of that sort if they gave consideration to it, think of sending such an individual there? Was not that what the law expected them to do, and not take them off in droves and inspect them at the Union Station and shoot them on down? Yet that is about what was done in this case."

"Can the Commissioners of the District of Columbia," asked Mr. Malone, in summing up this phase of the case—the arbitrary transfer of the suffragists from a prison to a government workhouse—"Can the Commissioners with caprice, with no order and no record except that orally given five years ago, and a doubtful one which this Warden says was now given, transfer defendants placed in a particular institution, and under a particular kind of punishment, arbitrarily to another institution, and add to their punishment?

"Even if we admit that the commissioners had power, did Congress ever contemplate that any District Commissioners would dare to exercise power affecting the lives and health of defendants in this fashion? Did Congress ever contemplate that by mere caprice, by mere whim, these things could be done? I am sure it did not, and even on the admission of the government that they had the power, they have exercised this power in such a scandalous fashion that it is worthy of the notice of the court and worthy of the remedy which we seek"—the removal of the suffrage prisoners from Occoquan workhouse.

In finally deciding that the thirty-one suffragists committed to Occoquan workhouse in charge of Superintendent Whittaker had been illegally committed and were entitled to liberation on bail pending an appeal, or the return to the District jail, Judge Waddill said:

"THE locking up of thirty human beings is an unusual sort of thing, and judicial officers ought to be required to stop long enough to see whether some prisoners ought to go and some not; whether some might not be killed by going; or whether they should go dead or alive. This class of prisoners and this number of prisoners should have been given special consideration. There cannot be any controversy about this question. The two humble negroes that I liberated from that institution six years ago got the same relief and remedy that I think these thirty women are entitled to. You ought to lawfully lock them up instead of unlawfully locking them up—if they are to be locked up. . . . The petitioners, therefore, are, one and all, in the workhouse without semblance of authority or legal process of any kind. . . . and they will accordingly be remanded to the custody of the Superintendent of the Washington District Jail."

An investigation of the outrages which suffragists were forced to submit to in Occoquan workhouse under the direction of Superintendent Whittaker, was decided by Judge Waddill to be outside the jurisdiction of the Court. Declining to take advantage of the order of the Judge which would have immediately liberated them, pending the appeal of Superintendent Whittaker, the suffragists chose, of their own accord, to return to the District jail to which they had been originally committed, to serve out their sentences. They were liberated four days later on the order of the Sentencing Judge, A. R. Mullowny, of the District Police Court, who refused to give a reason for his summary order.

The Prison Notes of Rose Winslow

Smuggled to Friends from the District Jail

"I DO pray, and that most earnestly and constantly, for some terrific shock to startle the women of the nation into a self-respect which will compel them to see the absolute degradation of their present position; which will compel them to break their yoke of bondage and give them faith in themselves; which will make them proclaim their allegiance to women first. . . . The fact is, women are in chains, and their servitude is all the more debasing because they do not realize it. O to compel them to see and feel and to give them the courage and the conscience to speak and act for their own freedom, though they face the scorn and contempt of all the world for doing it!"

Susan B. Anthony

IF this thing is necessary we will naturally go through with it. Force is so stupid a weapon.

I feel so happy doing my bit for decency—for our war, which is, after all, real and fundamental.

The women are all so magnificent, so beautiful. Alice Paul is as thin as ever, pale and large-eyed. We have been in solitary for nine weeks. There is nothing to tell but that the days go by somehow. I have felt quite feeble the last few days—faint, so that I could hardly get my hair combed, my arms ached so. But today I am well again. Alice Paul and I talk back and forth though we are at opposite ends of the building and a hall door also shuts us apart. But occasionally—thrills—we escape from behind our iron-barred doors and visit. Great laughter and rejoicing!

I know you will not get me out. That would be puny. I know you won't do it. My fainting probably means nothing except that I am not strong after these weeks. I know you won't be alarmed.

I TOLD about a syphilitic colored woman with one leg. The other one was cut off, having rotted so that it was alive with maggots when she came in. The remaining one is now getting as bad. They are so short of nurses that a little colored girl of twelve, who is here waiting to have her tonsils removed waits on her. This child and two others share a ward with a syphilitic child of three or four years, whose mother refused to have it at home. It makes you absolutely ill to see it. I am going to break all three windows as a protest against their boarding Alice Paul with these!

Dr. Gannon is chief of a hospital. Yet Alice Paul and I found we had been taking baths in one of the tubs here, in which this syphilitic child, an incurable, who has his eyes bandaged all the time, is also bathed. He has been here a year. Into the room where he lives came yesterday two children to be operated on for tonsilitis. They also bathed in the same tub. The syphilitic woman has been in that room seven months. Cheerful mixing, isn't it? The place is alive with roaches, crawling all over the walls, everywhere. I found one in my bed the other day.

There is great excitement about my two syphilitics. Each nurse is being asked whether she told me. So, as in all institutions where an unsanitary fact is made public, no effort is made to make the wrong itself right. All hands fail to find the culprit. He who made it known is punished.

ALICE PAUL is in the psychopathic ward. She dreaded forcible feeding frightfully, and I hate to think how she must be feeling. I had a nervous time of it, gasping a long time afterward, and my stomach rejecting during the process. I spent a bad restless night, but otherwise I am alright. The poor souls who fed me got liberally besprinkled during the process. I heard myself making the most hideous sounds, like an animal in pain, and thought how dreadful it was of me to make such horrible sounds . . . One feels so forsaken when one lies prone and people shove a pipe down one's stomach.

This morning but for an astounding tiredness, I am alright, though. I am waiting to see what happens when the President realizes that brutal bullying isn't quite a statesmanlike method for settling a demand for justice at home. At least, if men are supine enough to endure it, women—to their eternal glory—are not.

They took down the boarding from Alice Paul's window yesterday, I heard. It is so delicious about Alice and me. Over in the jail a rumor began that I was considered insane and would be examined. Then came Doctor White, and said he had come to see "the thyroid case." When they left we argued about the matter, neither of us knowing which was considered "suspicious." She insisted it was she, and, as it happened, she was right. Imagine anyone thinking Alice Paul needed to be "under observation!" The thick-headed idiots!

Yesterday was a bad day for me in feeding. I was vomiting continually during the process. The tube has developed an irritation somewhere that is painful.

Never was there a sentence like ours for such an offense as ours, even in England. No woman ever got it over there even for tearing down buildings. And during all that agitation *we* were busy saying that never would such things happen in the United States. The men told us they would not endure such frightfulness. We will see whether they will now.

Mary Beard and Helen were allowed to stay only a minute, and I cried like a fool. I am getting over that habit, I think.

I fainted again last night. I just fell flop over in the bathroom where I was washing my hands, and was led to bed when I recovered, by a nurse. I lost consciousness just as I got there again. I felt horribly faint until 12 o'clock, then fell asleep for awhile.

I WAS getting frantic because you seemed to think Alice was with me in the hospital. She was in the psychopathic ward. The same doctor feeds us both, and told me. Don't let them tell you we take this well. Miss Paul vomits much. I do, too, except when I'm not nervous, as I have been every time but one. The feeding gives me a severe headache. My throat aches afterward, and I always weep and sob to my great disgust, quite against my will. I try to be less feeble-minded. It's the nervous reaction, and I can't control it much. I don't imagine bathing one's food in tears very good for one.

We think of the coming feeding all day. It is horrible. The doctor thinks I take it well. I hate the thought of Alice Paul and the others if I take it well.

We still get no mail; we are "insubordinate." "It's strange, isn't it: if you ask for food fit to eat, as we did, you are "insubordinate"; and if you refuse food you are "insubordinate." Amusing. I am really all right. If this continues very long I perhaps won't be. I am interested to see how long our so-called "splendid American men" will stand for this form of discipline.

All news cheers one marvelously because it is hard to feel anything but a bit desolate and forgotten here in this place.

All the officers here know we are making this hunger strike that women fighting for liberty may be considered political prisoners; we have told them. God knows we don't want other women ever to have to do this over again.

"That Night of Terror," November 14, 1917

As Described by Mrs. Mary A. Nolan

I WAS giving all my time to Red Cross work in the surgical department of the Jacksonville (Florida) Branch when I first heard of Alice Paul—that they had put her in prison with those others. They were suffering and fighting for all of us. When Mrs. Gould and Miss Younger asked Florida women to go to Washington to help, I volunteered. I am seventy-three, but except for my lame foot I was well. I hurt my foot many years ago at our Robert E Lee celebration.

I considered Mr. Wilson picayunish about suffrage, promising, backing down; giving a bit, then another bit. That is not big, and this is a big question.

Mrs. A. Mary Nolan of Florida with Her Picket Banner

I PICKETED three times with these splendid women, carrying a purple, white and gold suffrage flag. The third time we spent the night in the House of Detention because we refused to give bail. I will never forget the queer sensation it gave me to see them spreading mattresses for us on the floor—thirty-one beds—the policemen who had brought us, helping spread the sheets and blankets on while we watched.

They ran through that "trial" rapidly the next day. We did not answer them or pay any attention. We knew, of course, that we would all be convicted and sentenced for months, just as the hundred and more other women who had done this thing for suffrage.

That prison van was one of the black spots for me. We were packed in so tight. It was a steel lined thing, very filthy and smelling terribly. I cannot describe that stench. There was no light and no air except what came from a few slits in the top. It was like being buried. The next thing I remember is the train we were crowded into, a car already full of negroes and white people who all stared at us. Most of us had to stand up.

It was about half past seven at night when we got to Occoquan workhouse. A woman was standing behind a desk when we were brought into this office, and there were six men also in the room. Mrs. Lewis, who spoke for all of us, refused to talk to the woman—who, I learned, was Mrs. Herndon—and said she must speak to Mr. Whittaker, the superintendent of the place.

"You'll sit here all night then," said Mrs. Herndon. I saw men beginning to come up on the porch through the window. But I didn't think anything about it. Mrs. Herndon called my name, but I did not answer. "You had better answer or it will be the worse for you," said one man. "I'll take you and handle you, and you'll be sorry you made me," said another. The police woman who came with us begged us to answer to our names. We could see she was afraid.

SUDDENLY the door literally burst open and Whittaker rushed in like a tornado; some men followed him. We could see the crowds of them on the porch. They were not in uniform. They looked as much like tramps as anything. They seemed to come in—and in—and in. One had a face that made me think of an orang-outang. Mrs. Lewis stood up—we had been sitting and lying on the floor; we were so tired—but she had hardly began to speak, saying we demanded to be treated as political prisoners when Whittaker said:

"You shut up! I have men here glad to handle you. Seize her!" I just saw men spring toward her and some one screamed, "They have taken Mrs. Lewis," when a man sprang at me, and caught me by the shoulder. I am used to being careful of my bad foot and I remember saying, "I'll come with you; don't drag me; I have a lame foot." But I was jerked down the steps and away into the dark. I didn't have my feet on the ground; I guess that saved me. I heard Mrs. Cosu, who was being dragged after me, call, "Be careful of your foot."

"It was very black. The other building as we came to it, was low and dark. I only remember the American flag flying above because it caught the light from a window in a wing. We were rushed into a large room that we found opened on a long hall with brick dungeons on each side." "Punishment cells" is what they call them. They are dungeons. Mine was filthy; it had no window save a little slit at the top and no furniture but a sheet-iron bed and an open toilet flushed from outside the cell.

In the hall outside was a man called Captain Reems. He had on a uniform and was brandishing a stick as thick as my fist and shouting as we were shoved into the corridor. "Damn you, get in here!" I saw Dorothy Day brought in. She is a very slight girl. The two men were twisting her arms above her head. Then suddenly they lifted her up and banged her down over the arm of an iron bench—twice. As they ran me past she was lying there with her arms out, and I heard one of the men yell, "The —— —— suffrager! My mother aint no suffrager. I'll put you through ——."

AT the end of the corridor they pushed me through a door. I lost my balance and fell on the iron bed. Mrs. Cosu struck the wall. Then they threw in two mats and two dirty blankets. There was no light but from the corridor. The door was barred from top to bottom. The walls were brick cemented over. It was bitter cold. Mrs. Cosu would not let me lie on the floor. She put me on the couch and stretched out on the floor. We had only lain there a few minutes trying to get our breath when Mrs. Lewis, doubled over and handled like a sack of something, was literally thrown in by two men. Her head struck the iron bed as she fell.

We thought she was dead. She didn't move. We were crying over her as we lifted her to the bed and stretched her out, when we heard Miss Burns call: "Where is Mrs. Lewis?"

Mrs. Cosu called out, "They've just thrown her in here." We were roughly told by the guard

Concluded on Page 14

The Suffragist

Editors
Miss Pauline Clarke Miss Vivian Pierce

Associate Editors
Miss Lavinia Dock Mrs. Gilson Gardner Miss Pauline Jacobson

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

Business Department
Advertising, Miss Hazel Hunkins *Circulation,* Miss Elizabeth Smith
Subscription: Domestic, $1.00; Foreign, $1.50. Single copies, 5 cents. Make checks, drafts, and post-office orders payable to The Treasurer of the National Woman's Party

Columbian Printing Company, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Entered as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3, 1879

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced
In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred
In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported
Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Present Status
In the Senate
On the calendar awaiting a vote.
In the House
Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted
In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee
In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.

In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon
In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Government by Coercion or by Consent?

WITH the release this week by the government of all the suffrage pickets, thirty in number, whom it was holding in prison, came another failure in the attempt to crush by force the demand of women for their immediate enfranchisement by national action.

Since last June the Administration has replied to the agitation for the national suffrage amendment by jail sentences. Since that time there have been two hundred and eighteen arrests of suffrage pickets. Ninety-seven women have served terms in the jail and workhouse for no other offense than standing peacefully at the White House petitioning for the political freedom of women. The government, in its effort at coercion, has met the campaign of the suffragists by longer and longer terms in prison, finally meting out such extreme sentences as half a year and seven months. It pushed its policy of coercion still further within the prison itself. There the suffragists, instead of receiving the treatment widely established by custom for political offenders through the civilized world; instead of receiving the treatment accorded interned alien enemies in our own country, have been subjected to worse conditions than the ordinary prison inmate. They have been kept for weeks in solitary confinement; have been manacled to the bars of the prison cell; have been locked in the psychopathic ward to listen to the cries of the insane.

These attempts at coercion women have met by a superb resistance. Sentences of half a year, far from ending the agitation, brought forth a picket line nearly three times as long as any that had volunteered before. The refusal to recognize the suffragists as political offenders led to protest after protest on their part within the jail and finally brought the strongest protest in the hands of any prisoner—the hunger strike.

After a little more than three weeks of the desperate resistance of the hunger strike the women have won. They have forced their way out of jail, proving that even inside of prison walls government can rest finally only on the consent of the governed.

Again the President and his Administration are face to face with the question of how to meet this insistent demand for greater democracy at home. A new session of Congress is opening—a new program of legislation is to be entered upon. Shall this ever-growing agitation of women, fast assuming the proportions of a rebellion, be again met by a policy of repression or shall it be met by removing its cause? Only the passage of the national suffrage amendment can quiet the present unrest. May the retreat by the Administration this week from its half-year policy of coercion through prison sentences be followed by a complete abandonment of the attempt to govern women without their consent.

The Government Releases Suffrage Prisoners

Hunger Strike Forces Commutation of Sentence

THIRTY suffrage prisoners serving terms in the District jail of from fifteen days to seven months for petitioning the government for liberty, were released from custody November 27 and November 28. Among the two groups were Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, leaders of the National Woman's party, and many distinguished women from all sections of the country. In releasing these women the Administration admitted its failure to withstand the weapon of the hunger strike, used so unflinchingly by the suffragists in their fight for recognition as political prisoners. Aware that they had been imprisoned on a technical and groundless charge, their intrepidity forced the government to give way.

District of Columbia Jail Where the Suffragists Were Confined

Many of the women are weak and exhausted by what they have endured in the government workhouse and in the prison to which they forced the government to transfer them. But their spirit is unquenched. Miss Paul, white and frail, sees in this victory which grew out of the suffragists' "day in court" the beginning of the end of the long struggle American women have made for their freedom.

MISS PAUL said: *"We are put out of jail as we were put in jail—at the whim of the government. They tried to terrorize and suppress us. They could not, and so they freed us. The Administration has found that it dare not imprison American women for asking for a share in the democracy for which we are fighting. Our prisoners were released from the government workhouse last Saturday on the court ruling that they were illegally and lawlessly confined.*

"The action of the judge who sentenced us in today commuting our sentence, acknowledges it was unjust and arbitrary, and a gross discrimination made to suppress legitimate propaganda—an attempt which failed.

"We hope that no more demonstrations will be necessary, that the amendment will move steadily on to passage and ratification without further suffering or sacrifice. But what we do depends entirely upon what the Administration does. We have one aim: the immediate passage of the Federal Amendment. As for picketing, we are well pleased with what it has accomplished. At the beginning of the war, Administration leaders told us to wait patiently until the end of the war, and then it would be time to talk of suffrage. Now they prophecy suffrage at the session opening in December. That is a gain, perhaps of many years, the saving of many years of women's energy when it is so greatly needed."

"What did you think about when you were in jail?" Miss Paul was asked.

"I only had a very little time to think," Miss Paul said. "It was the most thrilling, absorbing life I have ever experienced. But one thing I did keep wondering about as I lay in the jail hospital: *How is it that people fail to see our fight as a part of the great American struggle for democracy; a struggle since the days of the Pilgrims? We are bearing on the American tradition, living up to the American spirit. Americans must sympathize, and grant us victory."*

EXCEPT for a happy accident those women would have been released without notice to their friends, to walk four blocks to a street car and endure an hour's ride, on a bitter winter day. Some of them were so weakened by what they had endured that they could not stand. Rose Winslow, who had been on hunger strike for three weeks with Miss Paul, collapsed completely when the party from the national headquarters arrived with autos for their comrades.

When the message was first carried to the imprisoned women who had been so often deceived by prison officials, afraid they were to be transferred back to the brutality of Occoquan, they refused to move. The disconcerted warden said he would give them two minutes, and then call every guard in the place and have them put out of the building. But they were allowed to wait until their friends arrived. "They have been so often misled," protested one of the waiting friends to the warden, "that more illegality does not seem an impossible thing. They had no reason to believe that they were not being tricked again."

The prisoners were found gathered in the jail corridor in an excited crowd. Their friends were allowed to go to them through the barred door, up the heavy iron stairway, through another door. "We won't accept pardons," they cried. "Who is trying to pay our fines?" "Are we being put under bond?" For a moment they could hardly understand their victory, hardly grasp the fact that the picketing policy of the Woman's party had not only been justified by its results but that the sentence was also now admitted excessive by the commutation of the sentencing judge.

The released pickets are Alice Paul, Moorestown, N. J.; Lucy Burns, New York; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Philadelphia; Miss Kate Heffelfinger, Shamokin, Pa.; Rose Winslow, New York; Mrs. Agnes Morey, Boston; Miss Cornelia Whitcomb, Worcester, Mass.; Miss Julia Emory, Baltimore; Miss Paula Jakobi, New York; Miss Lou Daniels, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. L. H. Hornsby, New York; Miss Catherine Lincoln, Philadelphia; Miss Elizabeth McShane, Philadelphia; Mrs. P. B. Johns, New York; Miss Alice and Miss Betty Gram, Portland, Oregon; Miss Matilda Young, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Alice Cosu, New Orleans; Miss Mattie Kruger, Buffalo, N. Y.; Mrs. Kate Stafford, Oklahoma City; Miss Belle Scheinberg, New York; Miss Minnie Hennessey, Hartford; Miss Maud Jamison, Norfolk, Va.; Mrs. C. T. Robertson and Mrs. R. B. Quay, Salt Lake City; Miss Amy Jungling, Buffalo, N. Y.; Mrs. George Scott, Montclair, N. J.; Miss Dorothy Day, New York; Miss Ella Findeisen, Lawrence, Mass.; Miss Hilda Blumborg, New York.

WHEN the first hunger strike of American suffragists, protesting for humane treatment as political prisoners, was concluded with their release on Tuesday, November 27, the hunger strike inaugurated by Alice Paul and Rose Winslow had lasted three weeks and one day. The two young women had been forcibly fed three weeks. Their protest was augmented a week later by the hunger strike of Miss Kate Heffelfinger, of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Pennsylvania; Miss Lucy Burns, of New York, and Miss Elizabeth McShane, of Pennsylvania. Mrs. Lewis and Miss Burns had been transferred from Occoquan workhouse to the jail to be forcibly fed.

When an order from the United States District Court on November 23 transferred from the workhouse to the jail twenty-three additional suffrage prisoners, nearly all on hunger strike, the problem of the officials was magnified. Rather than forcibly feed thirty women, the Administration acknowledged defeat and released all suffrage prisoners.

The Appeal for the Investigation of Occoquan

Transcript of the Argument of Dudley Field Malone, in the United States Court, Alexandria, Va., asking that the Testimony Concerning the Brutal Treatment of Suffragists on the Night of November 14, be heard

AS the gentleman representing the government says, the request we hope to make is a summary proceeding. That is our intention, that it should be summary. We believe all the circumstances which we can set before Your Honor would clearly show that the action we desire should be summary.

The respondent Whittaker, who is the head of this institution, is before Your Honor and within the jurisdiction of the court. The complainants, these petitioners, who come from all over the United States are also in court. It is not an easy matter, in fact it is a matter of very great hardship, to call all of these petitioners together in a proceeding again for such relief as we wish to urge. It would be a very difficult thing to summon them from the different parts of the country for the purpose of relief. So our request may be extraordinary, but we believe we ask for something entirely within the jurisdiction and judgment of this court.

This is the only court having jurisdiction over this instituton in which these petitioners have been unlawfully imprisoned and subjected to indignities—the only court to which they can appeal in the circumstances. You are the only Judge to whom they can come for relief, and we are all here.

Yesterday, Your Honor, speaking of the petition, said that in your long experience you had scarcely read a statement of facts which seemed more blood-curdling. I assert, Your Honor, that the testimony would make that petition pale into insignificance and make it seem like a very simple, calm, narrative; and we have the testimony in court to give.

Your Honor also said to the government that you did not think it could afford, in view of the charges of cruelty and inhumanity which are made against these officials of the government, to take any action which would preclude a hearing on those matters, lest a judgment might be resultant, at least by implication against the government that those things were true. All these are circumstances and facts which go to make us wish to present this petition to you.

THIS is an extraordinary case, Your Honor. It seems to me a very happy circumstance that it has come up in the State of Virginia. The State of Virginia, happily for the nation, is really the first State in which the questions of fundamental liberty for men and women were decided.

The circumstances of the petitioners here are that everything that they have done has been on the advice of counsel. They have taken no step from the very beginning with regard to their entire policy that they have adopted in which they have not had the advice of counsel that they were acting entirely within their legal right.

The policy which has been known as picketing they have been repeatedly advised by counsel, including myself among others, was legal; that they have entire legal right to continue to picket to the time that question has been adjudicated, because not one has been arrested for picketing. In these circumstances we have maintained they could not legally be doing one thing and be arrested for doing an illegal thing. It has not been the result of impulse. These things have been done calmly. Whether men agree with suffrage at all, whether men agree with the policy, has nothing to do with the fact that these petitioners have, in every instance, acted on the calm judgment of counsel, and many counsel from different parts of the country.

WE are here to show and present this petition for the reason that these petitioners were illegally, as Your Honor has decided, taken to this institution and were subjected to the outrages and inhumanities which are a disgrace to any institution. We are all in court. Mr. Whittaker, the respondent, is in court. He has ample opportunity to prepare his side of the case; he has witnesses; he had them all in court yesterday, witnesses to corroborate their side of the case; and that is the reason we wish to present this matter.

WE wish to prove these contentions—and why, Your Honor? It is because we want these practices stopped. We want, Your Honor, to say that no other prisoner, high or low, humble or distinguished, shall ever be subjected to such outrageous conditions, least of all women. I would feel it an intolerable outrage if these things had been done to men of the most humble origin, but to have these things done to women of character and standing in every city and state in this country from which they come, is an intolerable situation.

And, Your Honor, it is because of this broad circumstance; it is because of the broad national aspect of this; it is because justice has been outraged; because liberty has been circumscribed; because health has probably been permanently affected by these shameful outrages, that we wish to urge upon you the question of a petition for a rule against this respondent—not in a spirit of vindictiveness; not in a spirit of revenge; not in a spirit of bitterness—because that is not the spirit; that is not the philosophy; that is not the attiude of these petitioners; but, Your Honor, that these practices may be stopped, that no other citizen—man or woman—may be subjected to such indignities.

THE Commissioners, through the Board of Charities, some months ago, pretended to have an investigation of Occoquan workhouse. I had in my possession eighteen affidavits from former officials and inmates of this institution at Occoquan, and I went to this Board of Charities which had been directed by the Board of Commissioners to hold an investigation of conditions there, and I asked, among other things, the very simple thing that the witnesses I should produce, should have the privilege of having counsel present at the investigation, and they insisted it must be a star chamber proceeding, that my witnesses must be sent there without the right of counsel and without our right to know how the proceeding was going. It was because only that kind of an investigation was offered or permitted that it was impossible for me and I would not submit evidence under those circumstances. . . .

Attempted or alleged investigations have been had from time to time, but nothing real has been attempted. We have the evidence to give when there are any safeguards thrown around the testimony we wish to offer.

It is a very simple thing to ask: that at least one attorney, representing a mass of evidence and a number of witnesses, should be present at any public board which wished to make an inquiry into the conditions at an institution that has become notorious in the allegations made in the press throughout the country. We did that, we offered that; that was the way in which the matter was handled—privately.

Of course we would not submit our evidence and it has been impossible to get these District Commissioners to perform what seemed to the average man a public duty in the circumstances. For these reasons, in addition to the others, we wish Your Honor to consider the question of the petition.

SENATOR MYERS, of Montana, one of the Administration Senators, introduced a resolution in Congress, or rather introduced a bill, to make picketing unlawful. After that time we had additional reason for believing that since a representative of the Administration introduced a law to make unlawful what he believed was lawful, that we certainly were within our rights in picketing. We simply, therefore, continued our policy.

He attempted—and the bill is still pending, I believe—to make illegal the things which we have been doing. In other words, assuming the legality of it, as we did, merely as attorneys, when we found that the distinguished representative of the Administration was introducing such legislation, we had every reason to believe that we were entirely legal. We still believe that the government has the power to pass sufficient legislation to make those things unlawful if they were lawful.

Cabinet Officials Shocked at Prison Brutalities

"THIS (the suffrage struggle) is a revolution. There have been revolutions all through history. Some have been justified and some have not. The burden of responsibility to decide whether your revolution is justifiable or not is on you. The whole psychology of your movement seems to me to obey no laws until you have a voice in those laws."—*Secretary of War Newton D. Baker.*

THIS is the remarkable summary of the present suffrage fight against injustice, discrimination, over the right of petition itself, which an unflinching group of women is making at the present time. The statement was made by Secretary of War Baker, who consented to meet a group of suffrage leaders November 17. In the group of women were Mrs. William Kent, of California; Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, of Connecticut; Mrs. Ella Dean and Miss Berta Crone, of California; Mrs. Amelia Himes Walker, of Baltimore; Mrs. Ida May Waters and Mrs. Gilson Gardner, of the District of Columbia, and Miss Katherine Morey, of Massachusetts, who arranged the deputations to Cabinet members and public officials for the purpose of enlightening them on the present suffrage situation in the Capital. The majority of these women have gone to prison for protesting for suffrage at this time.

When Mrs. Bennett, introduced by Mrs. Kent, said she wished to acquaint the Secretary of War, as a Cabinet member, with the frightful brutality being perpetrated on women in the government workhouse because they had dared to petition this government, Mr. Baker interrupted and declared he could not see why the call had been made on him. "I have one duty," he said, "The successful prosecution of the war against Germany; and I have no time to look into anything else. And I can express no opinion on this matter until I have looked into it."

Mrs. Kent asked the Secretary if he knew that government marines had been unwarrantably used at Occoquan workhouse to terrorize women, and asked that this illegal use of the forces of this country be stopped. The Secretary said that if men from Quantico station were used, the matter could not be taken up by his department.

WHEN Miss Morey explained that for simply making the demand that they be treated as political prisoners, the imprisoned women had been denied council, or visit from their nearest relatives, Secretary Baker seemed much perturbed. He admitted he was disturbed because the prisoners spoken of were women. "If they were men," he added, "the question could be quickly settled."

"If they were men," pointed out Miss Morey, "they would not have to make these indirect appeals, since they would have the direct means within their own hands."

"But this is in the hands of the commission and the courts," sidestepped Secretary Baker. "The courts have decided what you are doing is unlawful."

It was pointed out to the Secretary that there was no law against picketing; yet women were constantly arrested on pretexts, tried for picketing and released on a promise to stop picketing; that Miss Burns was given a six months sentence as a "ring leader," not of "traffic obstruction," but of picketing.

The Secretary was finally driven to admit the truth: that these women going to prison for the sake of the political liberty of the women of this nation were not petty law-breakers, but a part of the struggle that must go on. "This is a revolution," he said. "There have been such revolutions all through history. Some have been justified and some have not. The burden of responsibility to decide whether this revolution of yours is justifiable is on you. The whole psychology of your movement seems to me to obey no laws until you have a voice in those laws."

Miss Morey pointed out that they were breaking no laws; and that the "revolution" he mentioned could be ended very speedily by the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The Secretary promised to read the amazing statement of Miss Lucy Burns detailing the treatment of American women in Occoquan workhouse.

PERSONALLY I have always been a supporter of your cause. But I do not see what I can do as an individual except give orders in regard to the marine service being misused for these purposes." This was the statement of Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels made when a number of distinguished women called upon him November 17 to protest against men in the service of the United States being used as civilian guards at Occoquan workhouse.

These women were Mrs. William Kent, of California; Mrs. Francis J. Heney, of California; Miss Katherine Morey, of Massachusetts; Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, of Washington, D. C., and Mrs. Gilson Gardner, of the District of Columbia.

"They are locking up in a government prison the spirit to suffer everything for freedom and democracy; a spirit valuable to the country at this time," said Mrs. Kent in presenting the prison situation. Mrs. Wiley declared that she herself, just liberated from prison, with her appeal against this unjust sentence pending, had served on the picket line in a spirit of consecration.

Miss Morey related her interview with a marine on guard at Occoquant workhouse, installed there with seven other men in the service since the suffrage prisoners had been confined there.

The Secretary of the Navy seemed indignant. "I have said repeatedly that I will not have anyone in the navy take part in these demonstrations. I will look into this matter and I will have this stopped. I know that a sailor attacked Mrs. Morey a few weeks ago," admitted the Secretary. "That man will be punished. I wish you women would stop this hunger strike. But I cannot see what I can do for you personally."

Mrs. Kent pointed out that the country as a whole could never be made to believe that the Democratic party was not responsible for past and existing outrages against suffragists from all parts of the country. "For while they may not be directing these attacks," pointed out Mrs. Kent logically, "they could at any moment put a stop to them if they wished to."

MRS. FRANCES J. HENEY, a Democratic leader in California, wife of the notable attorney who has so loyally supported the Administration, told him that present tactics were alienating thousands of the California women who had worked for the President in the last campaign in her State.

When the Secretary finally told of his faith in suffrage and repeated his inability personally to affect the situation, Miss Morey, the young Boston girl whose mother had been attacked by a sailor in the last picket demonstration, stepped forward, "You can speak to the President, Mr. Daniels," she said. The Secretary of the Navy did not deny it.

PART of a concerted attempt to bring the persecution of American women before responsible heads in the government, before public men and women, organizations and individual Congressmen, under the national direction of Miss Morey protests have poured into Washington as the country began to realize conditions. The Philadelphia Trade Union League not only sent its protest to the President, but is reaching thousands of its affiliated members. The Pennsylvania Prison Reform Association is planning a protest mass meeting for December. From Louisiana in the South to Minnesota in the North; from New York in the East to San Francisco in the West, Senators and Representatives are hearing demands for action from their constituents.

Anne Martin Arouses the West

THE hand of the Administration which has consented to the imprisonment of American women under unspeakable conditions in the National Capital for asking for liberty, is also reaching out into the remote states to prevent the facts which are happening in Washington from getting to the voters in the West and South. The experiences of Miss Anne Martin, vice chairman of the National Woman's party, who has for the past two months been presenting Occoquan to the country, have been dramatic in the extreme. On malicious attacks and attempts on the part of government secret service men to block and break up meetings, Miss Martin has brought to bear the same courage the women in prison in Washington have shown. She has defied petty persecution, and has continued to tell the truth.

Following northern California meetings, Miss Martin was scheduled to speak in southern California. In Los Angeles the ballroom of the Alexandria Hotel was engaged for the meeting. On arrival Miss Martin was met by one Mr. Mills, of the Department of Justice, and "warned" that there could be no meeting in Los Angeles. Miss Martin read him a section on the right of free speech and assemblage, and said he could not prevent the meeting, though he was welcome to attend it and arrest her if she made any "seditious" remarks.

An attempt to have the right to use the ballroom cancelled was frustrated when the management learned that Miss Martin had made the same talk at the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco to an enthusiastic audience. Miss Martin found secret service men listening outside her door in the hotel. They attended her meeting, and attempted to break it up by interrupting and proposing "a vote of confidence in the President." The offenders were silenced by the audience itself and the speech continued.

"We only need to tell people our story, and they respond," writes Miss Martin. Prominent men and women, including J. H. Braly, ex-Representative Bell, Miss Jessie Anthony, the niece of Susan B. Anthony, and Mrs. Berthold Barruch, sat on the platform. Within a few minutes five hundred dollars was collected in the audience for the continuation of the struggle in the Capital.

But the success of the Los Angeles meetings did not discourage the secret service men. Learning of the scheduled meeting in San Diego, one of them again warned Miss Martin not to "make the same speech in San Diego." "I told him to follow me and arrest me at any time he wished to, but in the meantime to stop speaking to me," said Miss Martin. She had no further trouble in California.

During the few days alloted to California Miss Martin spoke in San Francisco at the St. Francis Hotel, where three hundred dollars was collected for future work; in Kentfield, in Oakland at the Oakland Hotel; in Fresno, at the Fresno

Miss Anne Martin
Vice-Chairman Woman's Party

Hotel and in San Diego. In San Francisco Miss Martin was heard by her former professor of history, Dr. George Elliott Howard, of Leland Stanford University, who congratulated her warmly on the statesmanlike campaign the National Woman's Party was making at this time.

Much feeling is being aroused among the Democrats of the Pacific Coast over the treatment of women in the government prisons in Washington. Mr. Henry Minor Esterly, a member of the Democratic National Committee for Oregon, who heard Miss Martin in Portland and afterward met her, told her that the present attitude of the Administration is hurting the Democratic party in every section of the country. A letter from Mr. Esterly follows:

November 5, 1917.

DEAR MISS MARTIN: I listened with shame and indignation to your account of the manner in which the authorities in Washington have been dealing with your pickets.

The business of putting good women in jail and subjecting them to the cruelties and humiliation you describe is not only wrong, but it is bad politics. It will make voters indignant, just as it did me, and is sure to alienate them from any party practising it.

I want you to know that I have written national headquarters and asked them to put a stop to this thing. I think they should pass your amendment in Congress and sincerely hope they will. Sincerely yours,

H. M. ESTERLY,
Democratic National Committeeman for Oregon.

FOLLOWING the California meetings Miss Martin spoke in the large cities of Arizona and New Mexico before turning once more eastward to reach Washington in time for the Woman's Party Conference.

"You tell us to stop agitating in war time," said Miss Martin at the Phoenix State Conference for Arizona. "I tell you women of the West that liberty is not won by treading the path of submission!" Interrupted by a man in her audience who asked if she did not think certain women in her party had "heaped indignities upon the President," Miss Martin responded vigorously, "I am thinking of the indignity the President is heaping on the twenty million women of this nation, whether those women are aware of that indignity or not. I feel as Susan B. Anthony felt nearly fifty years ago when men protested against her agitation and she said: 'I know only woman—and her disfranchised—crucified.'"

Following the Conference in Arizona the following State officers were elected for the coming year: Chairman, Mrs. Vernon W. Sweet, of Phoenix; vice chairman, Mrs. Frederick W. Stafford, of Phoenix; Dr. Marion Walker Williams and Miss Hannah Eggleston, State Committee.

In Tucson Miss Martin spoke at the Woman's Club Building, with Mrs. J. O. Crook presiding at the meeting. Mrs. Crook was a former head of the Children's Bureau of California, and a professor of economics in the University of that State. She has become chairman of the Tucson district of the State organization. In Bisbee, where the acute labor troubles of the last few months have created an intense situation, the mayor refused to grant Miss Martin permission to speak on the street, apparently thinking that the very mention of the word "picket" would make a "dangerous situation." The scheduled meeting was, therefore, held in the Bisbee Hotel before an enthusiastic audience who sent an indignant protest to the President from the meeting.

IN New Mexico Miss Martin reached the largest groups of women she had spoken to, speaking before the woman student body of the University of New Mexico; and also at the State Teacher's Convention in Albuquerque, which drew hundreds of women from every part of the State. Protests to Washington against the shameful discrimination against suffrage prisoners went from every meeting. "We went back to the West," says Miss Martin, "to tell the women who had voted in this Administration that it had not kept faith with them. They believed in our message." The release of the suffrage prisoners proved this week that that great protest of the West was heard in Washington."

The President versus the People

Comments of the Press

Colorado

The President's "Sectional Eye"

IN another of his beautifully phrased addresses recently, President Wilson told a delegation of suffragists how deeply he appreciated women's work in this war and how they deserved political equality with men. But, to tell the truth, Mr. Wilson dodged the issue. He returned to "state rights" and other outworn fallacies and doctrines and held that the extension of the suffrage to women was a state question to be settled by the individual states.

This will not do. The intelligence of the nation is in the other direction. It has ceased to make woman's suffrage a sectional as well as a partisan issue. If the women of Colorado are entitled to vote, so are the women of Virginia. If suffrage is wrong in one section of the United States, it is wrong all through.

Every year in the last decade the trend of Congress, following the direction of public sentiment, has been to equalize the citizen's voting right or privilege. Statutes passed by individual states have to come under the jurisdiction of congressional acts. Washington under the current Administration has been supervising state elections and punishing infractions of the national statutes.

Equal suffrage is a national question, not a state issue. The politician who talks of having the states settle the matter is not sincere. He is, whether he knows it or not, setting up two republics. He is going back sixty years. He is backing a nation one-half free and the other half "half free."

In the South equal suffrage is a long, long way off, if left to the individual states. The race problem is responsible in large measure, although without the colored vote that section of the nation would hesitate a long time before falling in line.

We believe the President shares that prejudice. He is looking at this question with a sectional eye, hence his insistence upon the individual state deciding for itself.—*Colorado Springs Gazette, November 1.*

Western Common Sense

IF the Empire State went a hundred thousand, more or less, for woman's suffrage, and Ohio, one of the largest group of commonwealths, voted by an equal number against the proposition, what then?

Could there be a more cogent argument for removing the whole question of the suffrage from geographical distinctions and placing it before the nation as a whole?

Are not the women of Ohio as intelligent as the women of New York State, including the City of New York?

If the women of New York State are entitled to the franchise, why are not the women of the other state and of the whole nation entitled to the same privilege?

If it is dangerous to trust the women of Ohio with the franchise, is it not just as dangerous to have the women of the other state voting in national and local elections?

Woman's suffrage is a national, not a state, matter. It is going to be settled by a national referendum.

It is claimed that women should not be entitled to vote on great national questions, such as war or no war, because they are emotional and what not. Then why permit them to vote in a dozen or fourteen states? If woman's vote is a menace to national unity, the question of giving or refusing that vote is a national issue.

For our part we believe that the woman vote of the nation, if it could give expression, is more national, more firmly at one for the maintenance of civilization as against the barbarian, than is the male vote. For proof we would point to the women of Great Britain and dominions and of France. They are the mainstay of the supreme struggle that is taking place in Europe at this moment.

So long as woman suffrage is left to the individual state, so long will it be present to stir bitterness and bring the cause into partisan and personal politics. Make it a national issue and it is settled and the woman vote will reach its level without further ado.—*The Rocky Mountain News, Denver, November 8.*

New York

A Prisoner for Freedom

MISS ROSE WINSLOW, of New York, now serving seven months in jail, at the National Capital, convicted of "obstructing traffic," when she carried a National Woman's Party banner to the gates of the White House in peaceful and lawful petition for the President's aid in the passage of the federal suffrage amendment, is described as one of the most appealing figures in this country.

Daughter of a Polish immigrant miner who brought his large family to the Pennsylvania coal fields when Rose was a baby in arms, she grew up in the coal and steel regions until at the age of nine, she was put to work twelve hours a day, six days in a week, in textile mills.

Here for nine years she supported herself. Then tuberculosis drove her to a free bed in a Pennsylvania sanitarium.

For two years she fought the disease and ever since has devoted herself to suffrage and labor legislation for women and children.

Mrs. Florence Kelly, of the Consumers' League, declared that it was Rose Winslow's personal story before the Pennsylvania legislation committee which turned their opposition into support for a labor reform measure.

Last year Miss Winslow toured the Colorado and Arizona mining camps in the National Woman's Party campaign against the national candidates of the Democratic party because of the latter's opposition to the national suffrage amendment.

Rose Winslow's tragic story of the Eastern factory woman's need of political power turned many a vote against the Democratic national ticket. Immense open-air meetings and phenomenal collections resulted from her appearance in the West. The Denver *News* stated that she was the most effective figure that the Eastern suffragists had sent to the West.—*The New York Call, Nov. 12.*

Is the President Helping?

WHEN the men fought for their freedom the women helped.

When the men fought for the Union and the freedom of the negroes the women helped.

When the men fought for the freedom of Cuba the women helped.

While the men are fighting for the freedom of the world the women help. Now the women ask their freedom. What are the men going to do?—*A. G. Wetherell in the New York Tribune, November 6.*

Florida

The President's "Scrap of Paper"

WHEN President Wilson was out a-vote-getting, he assured the women of the states where women vote that he was for woman's suffrage heart and soul, and they voted for him on the strength of it, carrying the Western States for him in fine style. But when he was seeing to it that Congress passed "Administration measures" he did not include justice for women in the list. In fact the women of the West have learned that those pre-election promises were nothing but "taffy" and "scraps of paper."—*Miami (Fla.) Daily Metropolis, October 31.*

The Fair-Minded South

MANY of us may disagree with them in the methods they are pursuing, and yet their pluck and determination are bound to be appreciated.

These women abhor jail sentences, and they feel that refined cruelties and indignities have been their lot when they are serving prison terms simply for their fight for a principle.

They feel, further, that when they place in jeopardy their health and very lives, when they give all of their time and talent, and show the public they are willing to undergo many trying

ordeals for their cause, that the public is bound to sympathize and help forward the leaders in such a movement.

The National Woman's Party officially takes no stand on other matters than woman's suffrage. Many of their members are now engaged in various war work.

The outcome of the militants' crusade—always kept before the public—will be awaited with interest.—*Vicksburg (Miss.) Evening Post, Nov. 3.*

Pennsylvania

The "Minute Men" of Today

DON'T bewail those splendid women in the Occoquan workhouse, where they are illegally confined. "God moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform." If they had not forced on the country the inconsistencies of President Wilson's attitude toward women he would not have received the delegation of New York women, or wished them victory in their fight there. The same women had been turned down more than once for an audience, but that was before the day of the picket women—who remind me of the Minute Men of the Continental army. If the President had urged the Susan B. Anthony amendment when he was begged to do so the women of this country would now be free and the "country would be safe for democracy."—*Ryerson W. Jennings in the Philadelphia Ledger.*

The President as Politician

IN his artful efforts to set himself and his party right with the women of the United States, President Wilson seeks to shift the responsibility for woman suffrage by making it a state issue instead of a national one. In his address to the New York State Woman Suffrage party he pledged his hearty support as "one of the spokesmen of a great party," but he failed to explain his attitude as President of the United States toward the national movement for universal suffrage through the Susan B. Anthony amendment. President Wilson has been granted more dictatorial power than any man who ever entered the White House. With a subservient majority in both Houses he has told Congress what it could do and what it could not do. On many important national issues his will has become law without argument.

If he would give the same "hearty support" to the movement as President of the United States as he promises as "the leader of a great party," Congress would make short work of the Susan B. Anthony amendment by adopting it.

In proposing suffrage as a state issue the President is adroitly attempting to dodge a responsibility that clearly belongs to the Administration. Suffrage has had its test. Sufficient states have adopted it to show that the time has arrived to make it a national issue.—*Salt Lake City Herald-Republican, October 28.*

Government Suppression

DEFINITE and insistent attempts are being made by the government authorities to suppress information concerning the activities of the Woman's party and to misrepresent the organization, declare many of its members here. Direct suppression of activity, through the arrest, sentencing and mistreatment of the pickets having failed, this more insidious method is being used. Representatives of all Washington papers and of the news associations were recently called into conference by the District Commissioners, asked to cut down space given the Woman's Party campaign for the Federal Amendment, and requested to keep all news of it off the front pages of the papers. The news associations have evidently declined to submit to this dictation.

It is said the Washington papers, however, are maintaining a fairly complete boycott, giving a brief paragraph on an inside page to a story which is given a column on the front page of the New York, Philadelphia and Pacific Coast papers. At the same time an attempt is being made to discredit the organization by branding it as "unpatriotic" and even as financed by German funds. It is difficult to meet an enemy that will stoop to such weapons. This campaign of misrepresentation, it is declared, will probably be extended beyond the District of Columbia. It appears evident that the government prefers to stoop to such weapons, rather than to grant to the women of America that democracy for which we are fighting abroad. The best answer that can be made to the innuendoes that are being circulated, Woman's Party members says, is a great, unsilenced demand that the Federal suffrage amendment be passed at the coming session of Congress. —*New York Evening Journal, November 26.*

Bound by Tradition

THE President who is leading a great nation in a world conflict for democracy, and who has uttered immortal phrases in defense of the fight for world democracy, admits that it is traditions which cause him to insist on the State-by-State method. He who would make the world safe for democracy would, at the same time, require that woman's share in that democracy be a thing limited by State lines.

The time has come, says President Wilson, for the states to take action on this question. Does he forget that favorable state-by-state action can be won only by arduous and expensive referendum campaigns, which would necessarily divert thousands of women from the very necessary lines of war service to which he as President has called them? Is a tradition of the old South to be preserved at such tremendous cost? Does he who has long been a recognized authority on governmental subjects not know, from his own study of state constitutions, the extreme difficulties which the women must overcome in a majority of the states to secure the adoption of suffrage amendments?

Federal action is in reality the only means by which the women of certain states can ever hope to be enfranchised, and it is the shortest and simplest route for the women of all the states. We trust that the President whose vision of democracy has challenged a world will speedily prove his own loyalty to that vision by casting aside "the traditions of our politics."—*The Patriot Phalanx, November 2.*

"That Night of Terror"

Concluded from Page 7

not to dare to speak again, or we would be put in straight-jackets. We were so terrified we kept very still. Mrs. Lewis was not unconscious; she was only stunned. But Mrs. Cosu was desperately ill as the night wore on. She had a bad heart attack, and then vomiting. We called and called. We asked them to send our doctor because we thought she was dying; there was a woman guard and a man in the corridor, but they paid no attention. A cold wind blew in on us from the outside, and we all lay there shivering and only half conscious until early morning.

"One at a time, come out!" we heard some one call at the barred door early in the morning. I went first. I bade them both goodbye. I didn't know where I was going or whether I would ever see them again. They took me to Whittaker's office.

"You are Mrs. Mary Nolan," said Whittaker.

"You're posted," said I.

"For that you'll go to the workhouse and put on prison clothes," said he. "Don't you know I am Whittaker, the superintendent?

"Is there no age limit to your workhouse?" I asked. "Would a woman of seventy-three or a child of two be sent here?"

I think it made him think. He motioned to the guard. "Get the doctor to examine her," he said.

In a so-called hospital cottage I was met by Mrs. Herndon and taken to a little room with two white beds and a hospital table. "You can lie down if you want to," she said. It was nearly noon, and I had had no food since the day before. The doctor examined my heart. Then he examined my lame foot. It had a long blue bruise above the ankle where they had kicked me as they took me across the night before. It was paining all through. He asked me if I wanted liniment and I said only hot water. They brought that.

The next day they brought me some toast and a plate of food, the first I had been offered. I just looked at the food and motioned it away.

Mrs. Herndon began to be very friendly to me. The fifth day she said: "This thing would never have happened if the police had not told us that five of you were armed." "We were all examined," I said.

Then she began another apology. "Last time the suffragists were here," she began, "they almost butchered us. They had pieces of lead pipes with them." I didn't speak to her again because I knew she was lying.

I was released on the sixth day, and passed the dispensary as I came out. There were a group of my friends, Mrs. Brannan and Mrs. Morey and several others. They had on coarse striped dresses and big grotesque heavy shoes. I burst into tears as they led me away, my term having expired. I didn't want to desert them like that, but I had done all I could.

Treasurer's Report

Treasurer: Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall
Assistant Treasurer: Miss Maud Jamison

Bank of Deposit: American Security and Trust Co. Washington, D. C.

Auditors: Marwick, Mitchell Peat & Company

$300,000.00 RAISED FOR SECURING PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT—CONTRIBUTIONS FOR ANOTHER $100,000.00

List of Contributions from Nov. 15 Through Nov. 26, 1917

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Miss Helen Paul	$20.00
Mrs. J. W. Roach (collected)	6.00
Mrs. Katharine N. Romer	25.00
Mrs. Charles Edward Russell	10.00
Illinois Citizen	5.00
Miss Lula Converse	5.00
Miss Elizabeth Griscom Marot	20.00
Miss Pauline Floyd	5.00
Miss Kate F. Gary	25.00
Miss Eleanor A. Calnan	5.00
Miss E. G. Harral	2.00
Miss Mary C. Haite	3.00
Miss Lucy P. Ewing (collected)	10.00
Miss Caroline Scherer	5.00
Miss Marie Ernst	10.00
Mrs. C. E. Grele	20.00
Miss Margaret Knepper	10.00
Anonymous	25.00
Mrs. H. F. Hall	5.00
Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett	2.00
Miss M. E. Harrison	2.00
Mrs. Elsie M. Pinney	1.75
Mrs. Blanche I. Whittemore	25.00
Miss Anna D. Geller	25.00
Mrs. Irene S. Pizzini	10.00
Mrs. T. S. McMillen	5.00
Mrs. Melle C. Craig	10.00
Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood	500.00
Mrs. Edith Evelyn Hanan	600.00
Miss Emma W. Goodale	10.00
Through Miss Virginia Arnold—	
Miss Ruth Small	11.50
Dr. Margaret Long	100.00
Miss P. J. Brown	1.00
Membership fees	43.75
Collections	33.96
Total collection by national headquarters	$1,597.96
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	$280,617.40
Total collected by national headquarters through November 26	$282,215.36

CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE HEADQUARTERS

Contributions made to New Jersey Headquarters:

Mrs. C. L. Speiden	$4.00
Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins	100.00
Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins	50.00
Mrs. Caroline Barnes Wilson	4.00
Mrs. Abram J. Rose	30.00
Miss Cornelia Rose	2.00
Abram John Rose, Jr.	1.00
Mrs. R. M. Laird	6.25
Miss Minnie D. Abbott	5.00
Landis Township Branch	7.65
Clifton Branch	2.50
Mrs. Morris B. Mead	2.00
Miss Lucy Abercrombie	5.00
Miss Beatrice Winser	5.00
Collections	74.45
Total collected by branches	$299.35
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	$39,200.51
Total collected by branches through November 26	$39,499.86
Grand total	321,715.22
Deduction: Transferred from branch headquarters to national headquarters	2,261.00
Grand net total	$319,454.22

Exquisitely Arranged Store
Extraordinary Wide Stock
Exceptionally Reasonable Prices
Get Your Groceries at
G. G. CORNWELL'S
1415 H ST. N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C.

WOMAN
By VANCE THOMPSON
Author of "Eat and Grow Thin"
Extract from a letter written by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont commending "Woman"
"Dear Sirs:
I have read 'Woman' by Vance Thompson, with great interest. Besides being of historical value I think it carries a great lesson. I would advise all anti-suffragists and women who have not sufficiently studied their own sphere of life and perhaps neglected to observe their own many failings, to read Mr. Thompson's book. They may perhaps see the advisability of personal study.
"O wa'd some power the giftie gie us,
To see ourselves as others see us."
Yours very truly,
ALVA E. BELMONT
(Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont)
Price $1.25 Net, Postage Extra—All Book Stores
E. P. DUTTON & CO.
681 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

Stone
Go to Stone's at 1306 Walnut St., Philadelphia, for STYLE, SIMPLE ELEGANCE AND STRICT RELIABILITY in Woman's Wear
(Formerly of Stone, Inc.)

Cornelison
715 H Street Northwest Washington, D. C. Millinery Telephone Main 6059

Exclusively for Women
Then why not stay at
Hotel Rutledge
Lexington Ave. and 30th St.
New York
Rooms from $1.00 daily
Room with full board from $12.00 to $18.00 per week. All outside rooms

OUR ADVERTIZERS
ARE
OUR FRIENDS
You will help the suffrage fight at this time by shopping with the persons and firms advertizing with us

1510 H Street N.W.
Washington, D. C.
SUITS
COATS
J. M. Gidding & Co.
Cincinnati Duluth, Minn.
BLOUSES NOVELTIES MILLINERY GOWNS
Fifth Ave. and 46th St.
New York
WRAPS
FURS

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS D.C.

WEST END TRUST COMPANY

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

CAPITAL and SURPLUS

$4,000,000

Receives Deposits

Acts as Executor, Administrator Guardian, Trustee, Agent

Sells Foreign Exchange, Travelers' Letters of Credit, Express Checks

Maintains an Up-to-date Safe Deposit Department and a Storage Department for trunks and packages

Manages Real Estate, Collects Rents etc.

Lends Money on Approved Collateral Security

WOMEN KHAKI CLOTHING

Norfolk Jackets	$3.75
Riding Coats	6.00
Riding Breeches	3.25
Walking Skirts	3.50
Divided Skirts	5.00
Leggins	1.50
Hats	1.00

1331 F St. N. W.

MEYER MILITARY SHOPS

TELEPHONE MAIN 673

Lanman Engraving Co.

HALF TONES, ZINC ETCHINGS
PROCESS ENGRAVERS

POST BUILDING Washington, D. C.

WE DO ALL KINDS OF

PRINTING

Quick Service Reasonable Prices

Hayworth Publishing House

Phone Main 1062 636 G Street N. W.

Established 1904

HARVEY A. STROUD

Electrical Engineer and Contractor

2103 NORTH ELEVENTH STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Specialize on EYE COMFORT SYSTEM of Lighting in Old or New Installation. Anything else Electrical, I AM ON THE JOB. Just Write, Call or Telephone

DIAMOND 132

ROSE VALLEY SANITARIUM

MEDIA, PENNA.

"In a valley that's really a hill" near Philadelphia. Beautiful location where health-building is a joy to the weary and ill!

OSTEOPATHY for adjustment, and NATURE CURE methods for every-day living. Booklet on request

RUTH DEETER, D. O., Physician-in-Charge

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

Circulation Manager, Miss Elizabeth Smith

Circulation Commi tee

Miss Nettie Blasing, *Minnesota*
Mrs. Alice Cosu, *Louisiana*
Mrs. Charlotte Dinwiddie, *Colorado*
Miss Edna Griffith, *Portland, Oregon*
Mrs. Josephine Kempt Linton, *Illinois*
Mrs. Nell K. Iron, *Idaho*
Mrs. Ruby Koenig, *Connecticut*
Miss Marion May, *New York*
Mrs. A. M. A. Pickler, *South Dakota*
Mrs. Percy Read, *Virginia*
Miss Blanche Robbins, *Iowa*
Mrs. Abram J. Rose, *New Jersey*
Miss Helen Scott, *Maryland*
Mrs. R. N. Scott, *North Carolina*
Mrs. Elizabeth Sherman, *Massachusetts*
Mrs. M. B. Spellman, *Indiana*
Mrs. Frank Stirlith, *Delaware*
Miss Eliza Tonks, *District of Columbia*
Mrs. James Whittemore, *Michigan*
Mrs. Neuton Wing, *Georgia*
Miss Louise C. Young, *Texas*

THIRTY American women have just been released from prison. They risked life and health fighting your fight and my fight. Are you doing your share to back them up in the splendid sacrifice they have made? It is your duty to carry to as many women as possible the story of this struggle for freedom which is going on in the midst of our "war for democracy" across the sea. Will you subscribe for THE SUFFRAGIST today? Will you persuade others to subscribe for it? Will you circulate single copies? It is our only method of telling the women of the country of the present government persecution. Newspapers do not carry full Woman's Party news. Communicate with our department using the blank below.

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers for "The Suffragist"

Week Ending November 24, 1917

Miss Virginia J. Arnold	1
Miss Emma F. Baxter	2
Mrs. Emily H. Bright	2
Miss Berta Crone	3
Mrs. Ella M. Dean	1
Through Framingham Branch	1
Miss Gladys Greiner	1
Miss Rebecca Hourwich	1
Miss Sarah James	1
Through Kansas Branch	1
Miss Caroline Katzenstein	3
Miss Marion May	1
Mrs. Cyrus Mead	2
Miss Katherine Mullen	1
Through New Jersey Branch	4
Mrs. Gertrude B. Newell	2
Mrs. Bessie H. Papandre	3
Miss Vivian Pierce	2
Miss Margery Gibson Ross	12
Mrs. Elizabeth J. Sherman	1
Mrs. Mabel L. Sippy	1
Mrs. John T. Woodhouse	1
Miss Joy Young	1
Total	48

For the dollar bill (or check) inclosed, send THE SUFFRAGIST to

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

SECURED BY _____

Open 9.00 a. m. to 5.45 p. m.

"THE BUSY CORNER"

S. Kann Sons & Co.

8TH ST. AND PENNA. AVE.

Our East Room Jewelry Store

—Adds a touch of beauty to the practical and makes it doubly attractive in the new sterling silver and silver-trimmed knitting needles. Many kinds of bracelet watches, both for men and women, are both useful and beautiful. Also featured are new Richelieu pearl bead necklaces, and in fact novelty necklaces of many kinds; new cameo brooch pins, finger rings of all kinds, Rhinestone bar pins, enameled smoking sets, ash trays, etc., new cretonne bag frames with cut crystal ends and new fancy ring frames.

Kann's—Street Floor.

"Pick-it"

Your choice of paper stock—any shade, any weight—any color ink—the usual super-service of the C-P-Co.—your time our time. Call Main 4250

Columbian Printing Company, Inc.

815 Fourteenth Street N. W.

SOCIETY STATIONERY

E. MORRISON PAPER CO.

1009 Pennsylvania Avenue N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mothproof bags and paper for protecting the winter clothing, carpets, rugs, curtains etc.

Picket Dinner

In Honor of

Our Prisoners for Freedom

Rauscher's

DECEMBER 8

Tickets for Sale at Headquarters of National Woman's Party

THE

A. T. Lewis & Son Dry Goods Co.

Denver, Colo.

A Store where no transaction is complete until the customer is satisfied.

In patronizing our advertisers please mention "The Suffragist"